DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 111 959 CE 004 701

AUTHOR Porter, Lyman W.; Dubin, Robert
TITLE The Organization and the Person: Final Report of the Individual-Organizational Linkages Project.
INSTITUTION California Univ., Irvine. Graduate School of Administration.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Naval Research, Washington, D.C. Personnel and Training Research Programs Office.
REPORT NO NR-151-315
PUB DATE Jul 75
NOTE 31p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS *Behavioral Science Research; Career Opportunities; *Employee Attitudes; Employer Employee Relationship; Employment; Expectation; Failure Factors; Individual Characteristics; Job Development; *Job Satisfaction; Labor Turnover; Motivation; Organizational Climate; Performance Factors; Persistence; Success Factors; *Vocational Adjustment; *Work Attitudes; Work Environment

ABSTRACT

What factors affect the attachment of employees to their work and work organization? What are the consequences of attachment or lack of it? The report summarizes the broad findings of a long-term research project designed to examine attitudinal and behavioral aspects of individual-organization linkages, conceived in two broad categories--the acts of joining and remaining employed by the organization, and the person's degree of attachment while employed. Employee turnover received particular research attention in the first category; indexes of employee motivation, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction received particular attention in the second category. Dependent variables considered were job attitudes, turnover and absenteeism, and job performance. The major findings of the specific studies which comprised the project are presented in the context of these categories, in terms of the variables' relationships. The implications for organizations are: focus on pre-entry expectations of new members, monitor their early organizational experiences, determine where commitment to the organization is most crucial and concentrate attention there, develop suborganization attachment, create jobs with greater scope, discover job dimensionality, and individualize incentives. The titles of the project's technical reports and publications are appended. (Author/AJ)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

ED111959

UNCLASSIFIED

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE (When Data Entered)

JUL 31 1975

C2

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER Final Project Report	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) THE ORGANIZATION AND THE PERSON		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Final Project Report 6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s) Lyman W. Porter and Robert Dubin		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s) N00014-69-A-0200-9001
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Graduate School of Administration University of California, Irvine Irvine, California 92664		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS NR 151-315
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Personnel and Training Research Programs Office of Naval Research Arlington, VA 22217		12. REPORT DATE July, 1975 13. NUMBER OF PAGES 28
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS(if different from Controlling Office)		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) 15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)

Distribution of this document is unlimited. Reproduction in whole or in part is permitted for any purpose of the United States Government.

17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN R DUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION O ATING IT POINTS OF VIEW OR OPI STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY R SENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITU EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

Organizational Commitment, Turnover, Absenteeism, Central Life Interests, Work Attachments, Expectations, Performance, Job Characteristics, Job Satisfaction, Job Attitudes, Socialization

20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

This report summarizes the broad findings of a long-term research project designed to examine the nature of individual-organization linkages.

DD FORM 1 JAN 73 1473 EDITION OF 1 NOV 65 IS OBSOLETE
S/N 0102-014-6601

UNCLASSIFIED
SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE (When Data Entered)

CE004701

ED11929

THE ORGANIZATION AND THE PERSON

LYMAN W. PORTER

ROBERT DUBIN

Final Report of the

INDIVIDUAL-ORGANIZATIONAL LINKAGES

PROJECT

Project Directors

Robert Dubin

Lyman W. Porter

University of California
Irvine, California 92664

Prepared under ONR Contract N00014-69-A-0200-9001

NR Number 151-315

Distribution of this document is unlimited.
Reproduction in whole or in part is permitted
for any purpose of the United States Government.

ED047701

Introduction

This project has been concerned with two central issues: (1) What factors affect the attachment of employees to their work and work organization, and (2) what are the consequences of attachment or the lack of it. In a phrase, we have investigated the nature of the individual-organizational linkages. In so doing, we have focused on both the attitudinal and behavioral aspects of this linkage -- how employees feel about themselves, their jobs, their work and their organizations; and what kinds of work behavior they exhibit in the job situation.

Employee-organization linkages can be thought of as involving two broad categories: (1) The acts of joining and remaining employed by the organization -- in effect, becoming contractually involved and staying so involved; and (2) The degree of attachment the person has while in the employment situation. The first category obviously relates to the organization's attempts to recruit and select new employees and to retain them once they are with the organization, and at the same time concerns the individual in making a decision to join the organization and the decision to either stay with or leave the organization. Hence, in this category of linkage problems, employee turnover becomes a particular object of research attention. The second category of linkage involves the question of what the organization can do to maintain and improve performance, and from the employee's point of view involves the kinds of reactions they have to the employment situation. Thus, in this category of linkage problems, indices of employee motivation, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction become particular objects of research attention.

Another way to view the broad topic of employee-organization linkage is to categorize the factors that affect or modify such linkages and the consequences of the linkages. In our view there are three major factors that determine the nature and amount of linkage: (1) characteristics of individuals; (2) characteristics of jobs, and (3) characteristics of organizations. The three major dependent attitudinal and behavior variables, reflecting the state of the linkages,

would be: (1) job attitudes, including job satisfaction and commitment to the organization; (2) turnover and absenteeism; and (3) job performance.

This brief overview provides a context in which to view the findings of this project. During the period of the project we have carried out a number of specific studies and analyses that involved one or more of the factors that are presumed to affect individual-organization linkages and one or more of the dependent variables. Before presenting the major findings of these studies, however, it may be useful to list the various specific problem areas that were investigated.

1. Organizational socialization. This concerns what Edgar Schein has defined as "the process of 'learning the ropes,'...of being indoctrinated and trained,... of being taught what is important in an organization or some subunit thereof." In particular, the project undertook a major review of the literature on this topic, and also investigated the process in an intensive way in one organization.

2. Impact of early employment experiences. Previous research has shown that the very early months in a new job are particularly crucial in affecting the individual's view of his/her job situation and it is also the period of highest turnover. Particular questions relating to this topic involve (a) the course of attitude development during this initial period; (b) which attitude measures during this period best predict subsequent turnover; and (c) what actions might the organization take that would lessen the chances of rapid decline in job attitudes resulting in subsequent turnover.

3. Relationships of job characteristics to job attitudes. Since we and others have hypothesized that the jobs that individuals have in organizations are a primary factor in linking employees to organizations, it becomes important to try to determine what kinds of job characteristics are most likely to affect job attitudes, and what is the direction of those impacts.

4. Relationships among different relevant attitudes. In the course of conducting our research on various aspects of the overall linkage issue, we were able

to develop considerable information on the interrelationships among certain types of attitudes (e.g., attitudes towards the job in relation to central life interests) that have implications for how people relate to their work and their organizations.

5. Relationships of job attitudes to turnover and absenteeism. This was obviously a central topic area in this research project, as the act of staying away from the job and the act of leaving the organization are concrete behaviors that provide information on the state of the individual-organization linkages. Because of this, we undertook a comprehensive and critical review of the literature on organizational, work, and personal factors relating to turnover and absenteeism. Also, several of our studies provided empirical data on factors relating to these two indices of behavior and these results have implications for organizational retention policies and practices.

6. Relationships of job attitudes to job performance. This is, of course, a much researched topic in the literature of industrial/organizational psychology. Our own research provided some additional data (though limited in amount) on this topic -- both at the level of individual job performance and at the level of organizational subunit performance.

7. Relationship of work to non-work activities. One particularly interesting issue in the area of individual-organizational linkages is how the activities that individuals do off the job relate to and affect the on-the-job attitudes and behavior. Certain data collected by the project shed light on this topic, and in addition also provided new conceptual analysis of it. One study dealt specifically with the problem of the correspondence between the individual's self-image, his/her work, and image of the non-work life. The central issue was to determine if the individual viewed the work and non-work realms as being integrated so that there was a spillover between them, or viewed the realms as being related in such a way that activities in one were compensatory for activities in the other.

8. Central Life Interests and work. One of the crucial elements in the linkage of individuals with their work organizations is the Central Life Interest (CLI) possessed by the person. If this CLI is in work, the individual's orientation differs markedly from that of persons whose CLI is in non-work insitutions. The nature of these differences constituted an important group of findings of the study.

9. Sources of work attachment. Viewing the environment of work as including the self, work activities, fellow workers, technology, supervision, the company, and its place in the economy, measures were made of the "packages" of environmental features considered to be important by different kinds of workers.

Findings

1. Organizational socialization. A major review of the literature on organizational socialization identified three stages through which individuals pass in the process of achieving organizational membership. Each stage is conceptually distinct with respect to the impact it has upon the individual's adjustment to the organization. The Anticipatory Socialization stage takes place prior to organizational entry. Expectations and preconceived notions developed by the individual during this stage may aid or hinder subsequent adjustment to the organization. Several major classes of variables have been identified which may mediate the individual's initial experience with the organization during the Entry Socialization stage. These classes of variables include environmental, organizational, group, and task individual factors. The final socialization -- the Metamorphosis or Continuance stage -- is characterized by continued efforts on the part of the organization to induce changes in the individual in completing his or her transition to full-fledged organizational membership.

2. Impact of early experiences. In several different organizations it has been found that the level of employee attitudes tended to decrease markedly during the initial employment period (e.g., first 6-12 months) from a level recorded on

the first day on the job. Such attitudes as motivational force to perform, and commitment to the organization, have been found to decline among samples of engineers and police trainees during the early employment period. In a sample of retail management trainees, however, this type of trend did not occur to any extent, suggesting that such a decline depends on specific organizational circumstances and is not inevitable.

Changes in the average level of employee attitudes have been found to take place throughout the length of an individual's tenure in the organization and not just in the early employment period. This finding was suggested by studies (utilizing cross-sectional data) conducted in several organizations in which a similar pattern of relationship was found between commitment to the organization and length of service. Individuals with the very lowest tenure (i.e., under 1 year) generally reported the highest level of attitudes, a finding consistent with previously collected project data concerning the level of attitudes during the early employment period. This initial high level of attitudes begins to "dip" during the first year (because cross-sectional data were used, the actual decline is probably understated because highly dissatisfied members have left the organization before the end of one year). The dip in attitudes lasted anywhere from 1 year to 10 years in the organizations studied. Employees with relatively high tenure in the organization generally report a level of attitudes comparable with new employees, suggesting the level of attitudes may eventually increase with tenure after the initial dip if the individual stays with the organization. The important organizational question is this: "How many relatively new or low-tenured employees will 'survive' the dip (i.e., choose to stay with the organization) that appears to occure sometime during the initial 2-year period of employment?"

In one study that compared both types of measures, a measure of commitment to the organization was found to better discriminate between stayers and leavers than measures of satisfaction with various facets of the job and work environment.

In interpreting this finding it is important to keep in mind that employees who leave the organization may assume the same job duties in another organization. In such cases, organizational commitment would be expected to relate somewhat more highly to turnover than a measure of satisfaction with job duties or the work itself. It should also be stressed that both empirically and conceptually, job satisfaction and commitment to the organization are related attitudes, and hence in many situations they can be expected to relate in about the same degree to measures of employee withdrawal from organizations.

3. Relationships of job characteristics to job attitudes. When various groupings of employees were examined in an analysis designed to account for observed differences in the level of attitudes, grouping by job title was found to be the most powerful predictor of attitude level. When employees were grouped by job, a relatively high degree of within (as compared to between) job attitude homogeneity was observed on a multivariate set of attitudes (e.g., commitment to the organization, satisfaction with various facets of the job and organization, performance motivation, and sources of organizational attachments). This finding suggests the importance of the job as central linkage of individuals to organizations in terms of their reaction to their organizational experience.

When a sample of employees who (as a group) held a variety of jobs were asked to rate their own job an a number of important task characteristics (e.g., variety, autonomy, task identity, feedback, opportunities for interaction), systematic differences were found in the perceptions incumbents held of the various jobs. When jobs were ranked in terms of level in the organization, incumbents in lower-level jobs exhibited a systematic tendency to over-rate the characteristics of their job in comparison with how peers and superiors rated the jobs. In other words, employees in lower-level jobs were more likely to rate their jobs as having more variety, autonomy, feedback, and so forth than other rater groups. On the other hand, incumbents in higher-level jobs exhibited a systematic tendency to

under-rate their jobs on these dimensions than did rater groups composed of non-incumbents.

In a study of 3,200 industrial workers in Great Britain, some results which were analyzed on the project, the relationships between features of the work itself (repetition, self-pauses, work pace, slack time, and self-initated breaks), work values and work satisfaction were examined. The relationships for each of the work characteristics with satisfaction and belief in traditional work values is variable. It was found, for example, that lack of individual control over work pace was related to dissatisfaction only for workers who were alienated from traditional work values. On the other hand, whether workers were able to take breaks at their own initiative, or whether there was slack time in their work were not features of the job that related to satisfaction with either the work itself or the company. It is concluded that historical and contemporary literature dealing with the affective response to job characteristics have assumed a false connection between them, namely, that the negative aspect of each job characteristic will automatically generate a negative affective response. The more accurate conclusion is that the human response to job characteristics is much more variable than had previously been believed, and that each characteristic of jobs needs to be studied by itself to determine how it is related to work dissatisfaction and belief in work values.

5. Relationships and job attitudes to turnover and absenteeism. An extensive review of the most recent literature (up to 1972) on turnover and absenteeism identified a number of factors that have been found to be related to organizational 'withdrawal'. These factors were classified under five major categories: job satisfaction, organization-wide factors, immediate work environment factors, job content factors and personal factors. The research evidence suggests that central importance of the interaction between job expectations developed during the anticipatory socialization stage and during the initial or early job experiences. Each new employee brings a unique set of expectations for the job to the organization,

and the reward level he or she encounters may or may not meet these expectations -- either due to unrealistically high expectations or clearly low reward levels. Employees whose expectations are not met are more likely to leave the organization. This model points out at least three actions the organization can take in attempts to reduce turnover: First, attempts can be made to increase the amount of potentially available rewards and thus more adequately meet the expectations of a larger number of employees; second, the organization may institute an individually-tailored reward system in which the type and amount of rewards available is better matched with the individual's unique set of expectations and needs; third, and perhaps most important, the organization can attempt to increase the accuracy of the inital expectations held by employees so they do not have unrealistically high levels of anticipation that are difficult to meet within the limits of the existing reward system.

When the relationship between turnover and organizational commitment is viewed longitudinally across time, it has been found that individuals who eventually leave the organization exhibit a decline in their level of attitudes in the several months immediately preceding their termination. Such a decline was clearly less (in one case non-existent) among individuals who remain with the organization. A decline in the level of commitment to the organization of leavers was found in two separate organizational samples.

When the relationship between turnover and attitudes are viewed cross-sectionally (at single points in time), it has been found that individuals who eventually leave the organization generally exhibit lower levels of attitudes than individuals who remain with the organization. The relationship between turnover and attitudes is particularly strong during measurement periods just prior to the termination of leavers and may be less clear during earlier measurement periods (e.g., first day of employment).

6. Relationships of job attitudes to job performance. At the level of the individual, one study dealt with the male plant workers in a telephone company. The company's performance evaluation by supervisors, using the company rating form, was obtained for each employee, as was the employees' own responses indicating where their central life interests lay. Supervisors apparently consider the "fit" between an individual's performance and his job to include much more than just output performance. While quantity of work was evaluated higher for workers with a CLI in work than for those with a non-job or no preference orientation, the work oriented employees were given higher scores on initiative and application as well as cooperation, but lowest scores on adaptability. Interestingly enough, quality of work, job knowledge and dependability were not evaluated differently for the three groups of workers. Thus, workers with a central life interest in work were considered to produce more accompanied by orientations of cooperation initiative and application, typical "desirable" behaviors as viewed from a managerial standpoint. But there appears to be a trade-off since the workers who saw work as their central life interest also were seen as relatively conservative because of their relative lack of adaptability. Thus, commitment to the institution of work seems to produce more output and associated affirmative behaviors accompanied by a relative conservatism that is measured by low adaptability.

In another study of female clerical workers in branches of banks, the branch performance was evaluated by central office executives and related to the measured attitudes of the clerical workers. The branches were rated as low, medium and high performers. Group means on the measures of employee attitudes showed that commitment to the organization and satisfaction with promotion prospects differentiated between all three kinds of branches, with high-performing branches scoring highest on these variables and low-performing branches receiving the lowest score. Medium performing branches had a score approximately midway between the scores for the high and low group. On the other hand, the low-performing branches had

the lowest scores on satisfaction with work itself as well as satisfaction with co-workers, there being little difference on these items for the medium- and high-performing branches. In general, it was a combination of positive attitudes toward the immediate work environment of the branch as well as positive attitudes toward the larger organization and its policies that together accounted for the difference between high and low performing branches in carrying out the regular bank service functions.

7. Relationship of work to non-work activities. In an extensive review of the sociological and psychological literature two broad models of the relationships between work and non-work are revealed. The "spillover" model suggests that the individual carries his orientations from one institutional setting to another so that, for example, if experiences are unrewarding in one setting, a negative orientation generated there is likely to spillover into orientations toward other institutions. The alternative model is a "compensatory" one in which the individual is viewed as compensating for unrewarding experiences in one institutional setting by finding rewarding experiences in others.

In one of our studies dealing with the work, non-work relationships, the individual's personality was taken into account as a major variable, this being measured by a self-described self-image. Individuals with a spillover orientation see the various institutions as having similar characteristics and describe themselves as more deliberate and orderly (putting things together) and active and challenging (going toward their life spaces) than compensatory individuals. The compensatory individuals, on the other hand, clearly see distinctions among the institutions in which they participate, and have different views of the same institution, depending on whether it is a central life interest for them.

In general, it appears that the linkages between individuals and their work and work organizations is significantly affected by their views of the relationships among the institutions in which they participated and the manner in which they value

the work institution. Whether this is a consequence of the institutional structure of society, or the personality characteristics of the individual is still an open question.

8. Central life interests and work. We have already indicated in #6 above, the relationship between central life interest and the supervisor's evaluation of performance, where it was shown that individuals with a central life interest in work were given higher evaluations on characteristics that are highly valued by management.

Some indication as to why supervisors attribute certain behavioral characteristics that distinguish workers with a CLI in work from those with a CLI in non-job areas is given in the data dealing with the personality characteristics of workers. The personality characteristics were measured by the Ghiselli Self Description Inventory filled out by individual workers. The results of the analysis showed that job-oriented males had the highest scores on Decisiveness, Initiative, and Supervisory Ability scales and the lowest scores on the Need for Job Security scale of the three groups. By contrast, the non-job oriented workers had the lowest scores on Decisiveness, Need for Occupational Achievement, Initiative, and Need for Self Actualization and had the highest score on the Need for Job Security. Thus, there seems to be a personality dimension that relates to the kind of Central Life Interest orientation held by individual workers.

In another analysis it was shown that both male blue collar workers and female clerical workers who had a central life interest in work had much higher levels of commitment to their work organization than workers whose central life interest was away from work. The workers who had a flexible focus for their central life interests (neither job nor non-job oriented, but some of both) fell between the other two groups in the level of their organizational commitment. When individual features of the employing orgnaization are examined, its most general attributes, such as values of the organization, its reputation and its effectiveness, are the

ones that prove most attractive to workers with a CLI in work. The workers with a non-job CLI, even though their general organizational commitment is low, selectively see individual features of the organization as attractive, probably evaluating these characteristics as instrumental to their non-job life. Fellow workers are not differentially viewed by workers of different CLI orientations, probably indicating that they are evaluated idiosyncratically and not from the standpoint of their organizational membership. Finally, it was found that when a feature of the organization was unattractive, in the case studied -- wages, none of the CLI orientations modified that perception of it.

It was an expected result that job satisfaction of individuals would be highest for those who had a central life interest in work, and lowest for those whose central life interest was non-job oriented. This is what was found for one sample of blue collar workers and two samples of female clerical workers. In each instance the individuals with a flexible focus of CLI fell between the other two groups in level of job satisfaction.

These results with respect to commitment and job satisfaction highlight a major dilemma in job redesign. It may very well be that redesigning jobs will produce positive response from only a portion of the work force, failing to reach the workers with a non-job CLI. The potential group of converts to a greater level of commitment and job satisfaction may be the workers with a flexible focus for the CLI who, by virtue of being unanchored in their central life interest (but clearly not alienated or indifferent), may respond positively to the enrichment or enlargement of their work.

9. Sources of work attachment. The most extensive body of data utilized in in this project comprised responses from more than 3,500 male and female workers in American and British industry. The British study was accomplished before the project was undertaken, but the comparable data proved invaluable in providing confirmation and contrast with the American data. The facts were collected

through a self-administered Work Attachment Questionnaire, comprising 94 sources of work attachment, grouped under 17 headings, representing distinctive sources of attachments to work, as follows: Self, Work Group, Union, Craft-Profession, Industry, Technology, Product, Routine, Autonomy, Personal Space/Things, Money, Perquisites, Power, Authority, Status, and Career.

When workers with a central life interest in work are contrasted with those having a CLI in non-job areas the outstanding difference is the contrast between the positive orientation of the former and the concern with limiting self-investment and preferring routinized work operations and instrumental payoffs of the latter. For example, the job-oriented workers gave higher ranking to such items about their selves as supervisor's confidence in me, skills required to do my job, contributing something to society and personal contact with managers, but workers with a central life interest away from work gave higher ranking to the following "self" items: hours worked, being left alone, travel distance to work, time for personal needs, how hard it was necessary to work and physical effort involved, and thinking about other things while working. This contrast between going toward the work environment on the part of job-oriented workers and the limiting of self-investment by the non-job oriented individuals characterized the contrasts between them in other general categories of work attachment.

When very young workers are contrasted with workers in their fifth decade, the major theme that emerges is the outgoing and forthcoming orientation of the younger workers and the "resting easy in the harness" outlook of the older workers. Although age and length of service are correlated, the differences between long and short service workers had a distinctive pattern in contrast with the age comparisons. Newer workers gave emphasis to work group and autonomy items in their preferred work attachments while workers with longer service emphasized power, perquisites, company, routine, personal space/things and career. Thus, there was a different "package" of work attachment categories valued by long as

contrasted with short service employees.

Male workers differ from female workers in emphasizing craft/profession, perquisites, technology, career, and autonomy items while females emphasize work group, self, routine, product, personal space/things, and company items. There was a clear preference for socialbility of fellow workers and a desire to limit self-investment in work among the women workers. Male workers expressed their work attachments in much the manner that would be expected of those who are still considered the major bread winners in the world of work.

In drawing out the contrasts between British and American workers, the following table helps to visualize the results.

Characterizations of British Workers' Attachments to Work	Characterizations of American Workers' Attachments to Work
SELF — "inner directed" orientation; preoccupied with physical effort and personal needs and conveniences.	SELF — "other directed" orientation.
WORK GROUP — Solidarity with, and emphasis on collective action.	WORK GROUP — like-mindedness.
CRAFT/PROFESSION — independence.	CRAFT/PROFESSION — inventiveness and skill.
AUTONOMY — concern with excessive supervision.	AUTONOMY — work-oriented uses of autonomy.
COMPANY — its organizational characteristics.	COMPANY — its social standing and internal operation.
PRODUCT — its social significance.	PRODUCT — its utility.
PERSONAL SPACE/THINGS — cleanliness.	PERSONAL SPACE/THINGS — its utility.
Unique Features	Unique Features
PERQUISITES — company-related off job features.	POWER — having responsibility for work, and influence on others.
ROUTINE — pre-knowledge of work and output expectations of company.	TECHNOLOGY — quality of equipment.
	CAREER — possibilities of advancement
	STATUS — public respect for own work.

These characterizations are clearly different in two respects. For those work attachment categories where each national group has preferred work attachment items,

these are clearly different in their content. Thus, the "self" as an object of work attachment has a different meaning for British workers than it has for American workers. It will also be noted that each national group has a distinctive set of work attachment categories that characterize it. The data of the comparison of the workers of the two cultures give content to the obvious fact that the cultures are distinctive. We now have some idea of how they differ in the manner in which workers in each culture view their linkages with work.

The study of the sources of work attachment is an important dimension of the analysis of linkages between individuals and their work organizations. This analysis is directed at sorting out the features of the work environments according to their attractiveness to workers. It is an attempt to describe the environments of work as viewed from the standpoint of those engaged in them, in order to establish the rank order in which the environmental features are valued.

Implications

1. Focus on prior-entry expectations of new members of organizations. Both the findings of this project plus related findings already in the research literature point to the crucual importance of pre-entry expectations of new organizational members in affecting their adjustment to the organization and the likelihood of remaining with the organization. If prospective organization members can be given accurate -- not inflated nor overly glamorized -- information about the organization and especially about life in the organization for the new member, then this increases the chances that the reality that the new member encounters will not be at such variance with what he/she expects. The decrease in this reality-expectation gap should serve to increase the probability of the person wanting to stay with the organization. (Of course, it won't insure this.)

Implied in this recommendation is that the organization should take steps in recruitment and selection procedures to point out the possible negative aspects

of organizational life as well as the potential positive features. The emphasis should not be an overly negative one, but on the other hand it should focus on exactly what the new member can expect to encounter during the first few months or year in the organization. Such information should not only include what the person can expect from the organization, but especially what he/she can expect from the immediate supervisor, his/her immediate peers, and the initial jobs the person will hold. If it is not possible to provide such information prior to entry, it as least should be rapidly provided very early (in the first month or so) after the person joins the organization.

2. Monitor the new member's early organizational experiences. Once the person has joined the organization and has developed whatever initial expectations or anticipations he/she has -- expectations built up from a variety of sources -- it becomes important to keep track of what kind of experiences the person is encountering during the early months and how the individual is responding to these experiences. Our research specifically reinforces the general conclusion from earlier (less complete and intensive) studies that the first few months in a new organizational situation have a decided impact on decisions to stay or leave. If the person has "survived" this early period -- i.e., has not become rapidly discouraged and made the decision to leave -- then there is an increasing chance that he/she will remain with the organization for an extended period.

Monitoring early experiences of new members of organizations means trying to identify the turnover-prone individual who is in danger of leaving but whom the organization wants to retain (because of the level or potential level of his/her organization and job contributions). This implies that the immediate supervisor of the new member can play an especially crucial role in spotting such individuals. It is the immediate supervisor who is likely to have the closest contact with the person and who should have enough organizational power or influence to try to see that the new member is receiving as rewarding an experience as is possible or

feasible. Probably, most supervisors can be quite helpful (to both the new member and the organization) in this regard if they themselves are expecting to have to pay attention to this matter and have some relevant training in how to assist the new member. "Assistance" here refers not only to technical assistance regarding job duties and the like, but also assistance of a more psychological and supportive type. Particularly, the superior will need to be alert to what opportunities are possible to offer to the new member who demonstrates above-average potential.

3. Determine where in the organization (i.e., in what types of job situations) commitment to the organization is most crucial, and concentrate attention there. It is obvious both from a common sense point of view as well as being inferred from the research literature that the typical organization does not need extremely high levels of commitment from all employees in all types of job situations. The research results from this project, however, indicate that commitment to the organization is an attitude that is related to decisions of the individual to stay with the organization and also one that may relate to performance levels in certain specific situations. Given this, then, the implication for the organization is: determine where in the organization it is most important for members to develop high levels of commitment. Presumably, this would be in certain types of key jobs where performance could be expected to vary depending on levels of commitment. (Prime examples would be jobs where variations from a target level of performance can have particularly broad or serious consequences -- i.e., jobs where mistakes are crucial, or where creative ideas can result in exceptional organizational benefits.) Also, of course, the organization needs to identify those particular individuals, regardless of jobs, who would be most valuable for the organization to try to retain. The essence of all of the above is this: The organization only has a finite amount of resources it can utilize in attempting to create commitment to the organization, and it should concentrate those resources and procedures where

they will be selectively most productive.

4. Develop sub-organization (i.e., organizational unit) attachment, even though there are some potential risks in this. One possible major source of linkage for the individual to the organization is the particular unit or sub-part of the organization in which the member is located. Often the total organization will seem too large or too remote for the individual member to feel any particular strong degree of attachment. However, the immediate unit in which he/she is located represents a key part of the total organization climate -- indeed, for many, the "organization" is the immediate unit. This would imply that if organizational commitment is to be developed, on the theory that the higher the commitment the greater the likelihood of retention, attention to developing linkages for the individual with his/her unit of the organization can have beneficial results.

Strong unit identification, however, is not without certain risks or potential problems. Specifically, it is possible that sub-optimization can occur -- that is, that the individual does things for the unit that help the unit specifically, but which are possibly detrimental to the larger organization. Thus, a situation of 100% commitment to the unit and 0% commitment to the total organization could lead to unfortunate organizational consequences. The objective it would seem, from the organization's standpoint, would be to create unit identification and commitment that could serve as a means for increasing total organizational commitment.

5. Experiment with creating jobs with broader scope. Findings from this and other studies indicate that most organizational members react positively to jobs with increased scope -- i.e., jobs with relatively high degrees of variety and autonomy. (The research literature including our results, of course, also points to certain possible exceptions to this general conclusion.) As pointed out earlier in this report, job satisfaction and organizational commitment are not identical, of course; however, they are related and it can be hypothesized that job

satisfaction is an important component of commitment to the organization. If this is so, it implies that concern on the part of the organization with the average degree of scope of jobs within the organization could have potential favorable impact on retention.

The question of job scope is a complex one, both from the standpoint of how it affects individuals in jobs but also in terms of the feasibility problem of enlarging the scope of jobs. Because of this, it is suggested that organizations such as the Navy that are particularly concerned about problems of retention of members, could profitably undertake experimentation on enlarging certain jobs or categories of jobs to see whether such broadened scope has a subsequent effect on retention rates. It is further suggested that such experimentation could proceed on a sequential basis -- new attempts at enlarging or broadening jobs being dependent upon the outcome of preceding experimental approaches. If done this way, risks (of increased costs as well as possible negative effects) could be minimized in relation to possible benefits.

6. Opportunities in job redesign. It should be recognized that job scope alone may be only one of several features of work whose manipulation affects positive work attitudes. Worker expectations and worker orientations may also be relevant. The emphasis on increasing job scope responds to the historical development of diluting jobs by reducing their scope in order to accomodate the introduction of vast hordes of unskilled agrarian workers into complex industrial processes. But there is much more to jobs than the one dimension of "scope" of work.

The preliminary research we have done on sources of work attachments suggests that there are at least seventeen distinctive dimensions of work and the work environments. We know next to nothing about how these dimensions of the work environment fit together into "packages" as preferred combinations of workers. Our research indicates that there are distinctive ways in which different groups of workers sort out the important parts of their work environment. It seems

reasonable to suggest that before the job redesign movement, fueled by the noble desire to improve the quality of working life, becomes overly preoccupied with expanding job scope as its principal weapon, more attention be devoted to discovering the dimensionality of jobs, and job environments. There does not seem to be any question that we are very much in need of new thinking about the design of work. The ideas of job enlargement and job enrichment may only be partial tools for redesigning jobs, and may not even be the most important ones.

7. Incentives for working. In all the theories of motivation for work the orientation of the individual is taken into account. Indeed, one of the most popular current models of work motivation, expectancy theory, carries in its very title the emphasis on the individual's orientation. Insofar as the notion of central life interests is an intra-personal orientation, it presumably plays a role in the motivation to work. We have clearly demonstrated that variations in central life interests have consequences in the attitudes of workers in the manner in which they are evaluated by supervisors. In particular, there are sharp contrasts between workers who have a central life interest in work and those who locate their central life interests outside of work.

It seems obvious that the kinds of incentives offered for working might be different, depending on the CLI orientation of individuals. Incentive systems have been largely designed for classes of employees (e.g., piece work for line workers, but bonuses based on profit level for executives), presumably on the assumption that people in the same class of work have similar orientations. The time now seems ripe to bring back into the incentive picture the individual differences in orientations that we know exist, and that we believe have significant impacts on the manner in which individuals respond to the incentives offered for working. It is not inconceivable, for example, to design an incentive system for working that provides different rewards to people doing the same class of work, in response to their differential orientations to the work institution.

Future Research Directions

Methodological suggestions for future research follow directly from the results of the several project studies and the implications of the findings for organizational practices. More specifically, it is suggested that more longitudinal studies be undertaken that focus on the development of employee attitudes during the first year of employment. There is every indication that initial period of organizational membership is critical with respect to the type and degree of attachment (or lack thereof) developed by the individual to the organization. Attitudes relevant to evaluating the individual's reaction to his or her initial organizational experiences should be measured at regular intervals starting on the first day on the job and extending through the first year. Studies of this type would be particularly valuable in expanding our knowledge of the process through which organizationally relevant attitudes are developed and the process by which certain individuals make the decision to leave the organization if samples from diverse types of organizations are taken.

A second major suggestion for future research concerns the desirability of undertaking controlled field experimentation. Field experiments are relatively rare in the organizational literature despite their obvious methodological advantages. Although longitudinal questionnaire studies can provide valuable insights concerning the relationships between particular attitudes and behaviors, more precision can be brought to the research through the use of tightly controlled field experimentation. Such field experiments appear particularly valuable in evaluating the implications for organizational practices of the results summarized in the previous section of this report. For example, during longitudinal assessments of employer attitudes in the early employment period specific steps can be taken when the attitudes of some employees begin to show a decline (and thus signal potential subsequent turnover). The outcomes of such corrective actions can be compared

with a "control" sample in which no such actions are taken to determine the effectiveness of various steps organizations might take in an effort to minimize any disruption to the organization and be expanded upon its successful use as a research method.

APPENDIX A

PROJECT TECHNICAL REPORTS

Author(s)	Title
Lyman W. Porter	Communications in Racially Integrated Organizations
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux	Typology of Empirical Attributes: Dissimilarity Linkage Analysis (DLA)
Lyman W. Porter John Van Maanen Frederick C. Yeager	Continuous Monitoring of Employees' Motivational Attitudes During the Initial Employment Period
Robert Dubin	Typology of Empirical Attributes: Multi-dimensional Typology Analysis (MTA)
Lyman W. Porter	Motivation Theory as It Relates to Professional Updating
Lyman W. Porter	The Role of the Organization in Motivation: Structuring Rewarding Environments
Robert Dubin	Work and Non-Work: Institutional Perspectives
John Van Maanen	"Pledging the Police": A Study of Selected Aspects of Recruit Selection in a Large, Urban Police Department
John Van Maanen	"Breaking In": A Consideration of Organizational Socialization
Lyman W. Porter Richard M. Steers	Organizational, Work and Personal Factors in Employee Turnover and Absenteeism
Lyman W. Porter Karlene H. Roberts	Communication in Organizations
Lyman W. Porter William J. Crampon	Organization Commitment and Managerial Turnover: A Longitudinal Study
Robert Dubin	Organizational Bonds and Union Militancy

Author(s)	Title
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux	Central Life Interests and Organizational Commitment of Blue-Collar and Clerical Workers
Lyman W. Porter Richard M. Steers Paul V. Boulian	Organizational Commitment, Job Satisfaction and Turnover among Psychiatric Technicians
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux John T. Stampfl	Central Life Interests and Job Satisfaction
Lyman W. Porter Robert Dubin Richard T. Mowday	Unit Performance, Situation Factors and Employee Attitudes in Spatially Separated Work Units
Robert Dubin Lyman W. Porter Eugene F. Stone Joseph E. Champoux	Perceiving Jobs in the Organization
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux	Workers' Central Life Interests and Personality Characteristics
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux	Workers' Central Life Interests and Job Performance
Eugene F. Stone Lyman W. Porter	Job Scope and Job Satisfaction: A Study of Urban Workers
Lyman W. Porter Eugene F. Stone	Job Characteristics and Job Attitudes: A Multivariate Study
Richard M. Steers Lyman W. Porter	The Role of Task Goal Attributes in Employee Performance
Thomas C. Taveggia R. Alan Hedley	Work Discretion and Work Satisfaction: A Study of British Factory Workers
R. Alan Hedley Thomas C. Taveggia	Don't Shake the Chauffeur's Hand: Toward Reliable Knowledge About Industrial Life
Eugene F. Stone	Job Scope, Job Satisfaction and the Protestant Ethic: A Study of Enlisted Navy Men in the U.S. Navy

Author(s)	Title
Thomas C. Taveggia R. Alan Hedley	Job Specialization, Work Values and Worker Dissatisfaction
Richard M. Steers	Role of Task Goal Attributes in Achievement and Supervisory Performance
Joseph E. Champoux	Work and Nonwork: A Review of Theory and Empirical Research
Joseph E. Champoux	Individual Reactions to Work: The Compensatory and Spillover Models

APPENDIX B

PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Author(s)	Publication
Lyman W. Porter	Communication: Structure and process. In: Harold L. Fromkin and John J. Sherwood (Eds.). Integrating the Organization. New York: MacMillan, 1975
Lyman W. Porter	Motivation theory at it relates to professional updating. Proceedings of the XVII International Congress of Applied Psychology. Brussels, Belgium: Editest, 1974
Lyman W. Porter	Turning work into nonwork: The rewarding environment. In: M.D. Dunnette (Ed.). Work and Nonwork in the Year 2001. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks-Cole, 1973
John Van Maanen	Breaking in: Socialization to work. In: R. Dubin (Ed.). Handbook of Work, Organization and Society. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1976 (in press)
John Van Maanen	Police socialization: A longitudinal examination of job attitudes in an urban police department. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1975, 20, 207-228.
Lyman W. Porter Richard M. Steers	Organizational, work, and personal factors in employee turnover and absenteeism. Psychological Bulletin, 1973, 80, 151-176.
Lyman W. Porter Karlene Roberts	Communication in organizations. In: M.D. Dunnette (Ed.). Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975 (in press)
Lyman W. Porter William J. Crampon Frank Smith	Organizational commitment and managerial turnover: A longitudinal study. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1975 (in press)

Author(s)	Publication
Robert Dubin	Attachment to work and union militancy. Industrial Relations. 1973, 12, 51-64
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux Lyman W. Porter	Central life interests, organizational commitment and sources of organizational attachments. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1975 (in press)
Lyman W. Porter Richard M. Steers Richard T. Mowday Paul V. Boulian	Organizational commitment, job satisfaction and turnover among psychiatric technicians. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1974, 75, 603-609
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux	Central life interests and job satisfaction (submitted to: Organizational Behavior and Human Performance)
Richard T. Mowday Lyman W. Porter Robert Dubin	Unit performance, situational factors and employee attitudes in spatially separated work units. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1974, 12, 231-248
Robert Dubin Lyman W. Porter Eugene F. Stone Joseph E. Champoux	Implications of differential job perceptions. Industrial Relations, 1974, 13, 265-273
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux	Workers' central life interests and personality characteristics. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1975, 6, 165-174
Robert Dubin Joseph E. Champoux	Workers' central life interests and job performance. Sociology of Work and Occupations, 1974, 1, 313-326
Lyman W. Porter Eugene F. Stone	Job characteristics and job attitudes: A multivariate study. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, 60, 57-64
Richard M. Steers Lyman W. Porter	The role of task-goal attributes in employee performance. Psychological Bulletin, 1974, 81, 434-452
R. Alan Hedley Thomas C. Taveggia	Don't shake the chauffeur's hand: Toward reliable knowledge about industrial life. Industrial Relations, 1974, 13, 313-318

Author(s)	Publications
Eugene F. Stone	Job scope, job satisfaction and the protestant ethic: A study of enlisted men in the U.S. Navy. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1975 (in press)
Thomas C. Taveggia R. Alan Hedley	Job specialization, work values and worker dissatisfaction. Pacific Sociological Review, 1975 (in press)
Richard M. Steers	Role of task goal attributes, n achievement and supervisory performance. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1975, 13, 392-403
Joseph E. Champoux	Work, central life interests and personality. Industrial Relations in press
Joseph E. Champoux	Compensating away from work for experiences at work: Some implications for job redesign (submitted to: Administrative Science Quarterly)
Joseph E. Champoux	Perceptions of work and non-work: A review of compensatory and spillover models (submitted to: Sociology of Work and Occupations)
Robert Dubin	Work attachments, central life interests and the alienation myth. Industrial Relations (in press)
Thomas C. Taveggia	Generational and sex differences in attachment to work. Industrial Relations (in press)
R. Alan Hedley Thomas C. Taveggia	Work attachments and skill: A basic revision of job satisfaction theory. Industrial Relations (in press)